D. M. K.

GENESIS and GROWTH

(A SHORT SKETCH)

By

M. KARUNANIDHI
(Chief Minister, Tamil Nadu)

RISING SUN PUBLICATIONS
MADRAS-6—INDIA

Copy Right]

[Price Rs. **1.5**

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அன்பளிப்பு

D. M. K. FLAG

D. M. K. two colour flag has black colour on top and red colour below in two equal parts.

Red colour represents progressive aspirations of the Dravidian people and the black colour is the reminder of the existence of backwardness and poverty which are impediments to progress.

The B. N. K. Press Private Ltd., Madras-26

D. M. K.

PARTY ORGANISATION

M. Karunanidhi	President
V. R. Nedunchezhian	General Secretary
M. G. Ramachandran, M.L.A.	Treasurer
K. Rajaram, M.P. and Kanchi Manimozhiyar	Assistant General Secretaries

Executive Committee	34 Members
General Council	342 Members
District Secretaries	14
Organisers in other States	4
Branches	7,560
Membership	576,000

The party known as the 'Dravidian Progressive Federation,' in English, and 'Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam' in Tamil, familiar to thousands in its attractive shortened sweet form as 'D.M.K.' shines to-day as the beacon light and the 'star of hope' to the forty million people of Tamil Nadu. These three magic letters have acquired throughout the world a new influence and meaning to-day. What then is this D.M.K. ?

Is it a communal party ?

Is it a movement for 'balkanising' the country ?

Is it a camp of atheists

or Is it an organisation of language fanatics?

To clearly understand the philosophy of the D.M.K., we have to get clear cut answers to the above questions. By dubbing this party as a communal organisation, many have tried to erase and confuse the original issues on which the party was founded.

From time immemorial, the southern most part of this Indian sub-Continent, has gained a place in history by the superiority of its civilisation and

culture. The Dravidians were the sons of this soil from bygone days. They had the rare distinction of having from the days of yore, a distinct civilisation with their own language and culture. Some historians rightly assigned to them the glory of even the famous Indus Valley civilisation. Tamil, their mother tongue is beyond question, one of the most ancient languages in the world. It has retained its youthful vigour and sweetness throughout ages. Tamil abounds in literary treasures like the famous 'Tirukkural'. Tirukkural was written by Tiruvalluvar, the greatest of Tamil poets and thinkers who lived somewhere in the 1st century B.C. His works have been translated into several important languages of the world. Many indologists rank Tamil alongwith Latin, Greek and Chinese for its antiquity and charm.

Dr. Caldwell, Dr. G. U. Pope and Dr. Albert Schweitzer have paid glowing tributes to the greatness of this language. The historic Dravidians who had the privilege of having Tamil as their mother tongue were the forefathers of the people now called Tamilians.

A peep into ancient history will reveal that when the Aryans migrated into North India from Central Asia and later to South India, Several changes occured in our society. Due to the influence

and infiltration of the Aryan culture and their religious belief, the Dravidian Polity and Society underwent important changes. Though the opportunities for a complete mixture of these two cultures were rare, still in certain areas an intermingling took place. As a result of this, the caste distinctions familiar to the Aryan culture had a definite effect on the Dravidian structure of society. History records various clashes between these two cultures. Because of the strong influence of Sanskrit the Tamil Language spoken in this area was broken into fragments of Tamil, Kannada, Telugu, Tulu, Malayalam, Konkani and Gondu. But in spite of this onslaught, Tamil retained wonderfully its pristine purity and individuality.

Tamil Nadu was the scene of various intermixture of cultures and civilisations and the resulting caste differences, prejudices and petty quarrels among Tamilians themselves, provided a good opportunity for the Englishmen to lay the foundations for the British Empire here.

The Imperial Rulers naturally did not bother about the people of this area who were very much divided among themselves. So also the Congress party which fought for India's freedom did not evince

any great interest in this sphere, as their aim was to win the freedom battle.

At this time a party was born here with Sir P. Theyagarayar as the founder, to work for a better pattern of social justice where, the so called forward classes will not oppress the backward classes.

In the year 1916, Dr. T. M. Nayar, Raja of Panagal, Sir A. Ramaswamy Mudaliar and Dr. C. Natesa Mudaliar joined Sir Theyagarayar to form the political party known as *South Indian Liberation Federation*. This party had as its organs a newspaper in English known as " Justice " and one in Tamil known as ' Dravidan '. Later the party itself came to be called the " Justice Party ".

In those days, only those so called upper class people had full chances to have liberal and generous English education, resulting in more than equal opportunities for employment. The brahmins who formed the higher strata of society alone could not be blamed for this, as this state of affairs was the direct result of the backwardness of the other castes and their apathy towards general education. The Justice party was greatly responsible to " level up " this downtrodden backward communities. Under the ' Montague ChemsFord ' reforms, the 1st general election was held in 1920.

The Justice party defeated the Home Rule party of Annie Besant in this election and recorded a thumping victory.

In the second general elections held in 1923 also, the Justice party had a majority. The Justice party government did their best to improve the lot of the backward people and to increase the opportunities for them. The communal representation system was accepted as state policy and it was implemented to enable every one to get a due share in government service. The credit for legalising this great principle of social justice went to S. Muthiah Mudaliar, the Justice party minister.

In the 3rd general election in 1926 the Justice party was not able to get a majority. The Congress Swaraj party which won the elections did not come forward to form the government. So, Dr. P. Subbarayan formed the government with the help of the Justice party with S. Muthiah Mudaliar and M. R. Sethu Rathinam Iyer as ministers. Only during their term, the foundation was laid for the principle of communal representation. The credit of getting popular approval and support to this important principle of communal representation, which opened the gateway for progress to the backward classes of Tamil Nadu, was shared by the Justice party and also by the revolutionary rationalist whom

we call with pride 'Periar' (the great) E. V. Ramaswamy. He is a great thinker who could be ranked along with Socrates. He is a sincere fighter all his life against all superstitious and blind beliefs and communal and caste differences. At one stage Periar was one of the pillars of the Congress organisation and as a friend of Mahatma Gandhi he was mainly responsible for this organisation taking roots in the South. • But once he came to know that the Congress leaders were wedded to the caste system, as against the interests of the Tamils and that they were generating differences under the cloak of religion, he could not tolerate these. In several conferences Periar brought resolutions for special consideration to the supressed backward people; but he could not find any response in the Congress organisation. Naturally this state of affairs frustrated Periar and he left the Congress organisation in 1925.

In 1926 he started the great Self-respect Movement which was destined to have far reaching consequences. This movement generated great enthusiasm, especially among youngsters and served to spread rational ideas and did yeoman service to the backward people. Only at this time the communal representation principle which was dear to Periar was legalised by the Justice party. This act

became a bridge to bring together the Justice party and the Self-respect Movement.

In the 4th general elections in 1929 the Justice party won and formed the government. The successive leaders of the Justice party thereafter, failed to show the same interest and enthusiasm they showed in social reform measures, in the question of getting freedom from the foreign yoke. The Justice party leaders were lukewarm in their response to the demand for freedom from the white domination.

Under the Raja of Bobbili, the Justice party not only moved very slowly but also was very soft and sympathetic to the Britisher. Periar did not at all like this slow moving tactics of the Justice party. So he stood out, and began a virulant campaign for his rationalist and self-respect principles. It was at this juncture, that a young man, famed for his mastery of the entire Connemara Public Library, called Annadurai, came under the influence of Periar. This youngster of astounding scholarship was to blossom into the famous Dr. C. N. Annadurai, destined to be the idol of millions in later years.

Annadurai, born at Kancheepuram in a middle class backward family in 1909, had to avail backward class scholarships for his education. He was a

'wonder,' to his classmates and professors in the Pachiappa's College where he showed signs of great erudition even as a student.

In 1935 Anna took Periar as his political Guru. He deeply believed in the self-respect movement and communal representation principle. Before Anna's entry into Periar's Camp, the Justice party was dubbed as a communal party by its opponents. He entered the party at a crucial time when even the leaders of the Justice party were more or less acknowledging that hatred of brahmins was the Gospel of the party. Anna's entry into this party proved, to be a shot in the arm for the party and gave a new lease of life to the entire organisation. Anna gave a famous analogy. He said that one could not be considered as an enemy of the mosquitos, because one tried to protect one self by a net. So also, if the backward people wanted to have their rightful share in the government service and other opportunities they could never be called as antagonists to brahmins. He gave a clarion call to everyone including brahmin youths, that those who believed in social justice could join the Justice party and Self-respect movement.

This memorable turn given by Anna to the policy of the party had a remarkable effect on the masses

and people came to know the real philosophy behind these movements. Every one clearly understood that this was not a communal movement at all, but only an organisation for the uplift of the downtrodden and suppressed backward classes. Anna in his inimitable way, clearly pointed out that their goals were the eradication of caste differences and economic emancipation of the masses.

To give effect to these twin aims Anna had to take away the Justice party, *from the lawns of the rich to the corridors of the poor and the downtrodden*. Periar supported this resolve of Anna.

The Justice party conference at Salem in 1944 was a turning point in the modern history of Tamil Nadu. The famous "Anna's Resolution" in this conference gave a clear cut plan for the freedom struggle also. To emphasise the demand to free the country from the white imperialists, this resolution called upon the party members to relinquish the coveted titles given by the Britisher: like Sir, Diwan Bahadur, Rao Bahadur etc. These had to be cast away, symbolic of the new spirit pervading the party under Anna's guidance. Those persons who opposed this move, had no place in the party.

As a result of this momentous conference the Justice party transformed itself into a movement of the toilers and the downtrodden under Periar's leadership. The new aim to make the Tamils realise the greatness and glory of their ancient language, culture and civilisation gave the party the much needed broad base and with this sacred aim the Justice party metamorphosed itself into the new Dravida Kazhagam.

In 1947 when India got freedom, Muslims under Mohmed Ali Jinnah fought and got a separate State for themselves. But the demand of Anna and Periar to carve out a separate State for the Tamils was not forceful enough to attract the attention of the British.

When India became free in 1947 Periar feared that instead of the British Imperialism, North Indian domination might be the order of the day and hence wanted to observe the day as a mourning day on the 15th of August, 1947. Anna violently objected to this thesis of Periar. He gave a rejoinder to Periar, telling that whatever might have been the internal differences, every one had to celebrate the deliverance day from the British yoke, and opposed the idea to call it a day of mourning: He wanted it *to be a day of rejoicing*.

Thus Anna and Periar began to see issues diffe-

rently and such things led to Anna leaving Periar's camp in 1949 to organise a new party by the name D.M.K. September 17th, 1949 saw the birth of the D.M.K. at Madras and thousands of youngsters left the D.K. party to join hands with Anna in the D.M.K. Anna became the General Secretary of D.M.K. in 1949.

The iron administrative grip of the north over the south, the step-motherly treatment meted out to Tamil Nadu by the Centre at various stages including the allotments in the five-year plans, strengthened the idea that 'Dravidanad' should be for dravidians only. When the D.M.K. espoused this cause, immediately Anna and his party were dubbed as secessionists.

The D.M.K. gathered points in favour of its demand for a separate State and posed a strong case backed up by current statistics throughout the length and breath of Tamil Nadu. The D.M.K. journals high lighted the issues and the party propagandists covered the corners of the State with their powerful arguments.

As an answer to the D.M.K. propaganda, the Congress party challenged the D.M.K. to convince the people and if possible to enter the assembly to voice their demands. Taking this challenge

seriously the D.M.K. plunged into the election fray in 1957. This shook the Congress from its calm complacency and the D.M.K. entered the Assembly with 15 seats under the leadership of Anna. These fifteen pioneers of the D.M.K. with Anna, as leader of this opposition group did yeoman service in the Assembly by voicing the feelings of the Tamils and emphasising the demand to safeguard the Tamil Language and Culture. This small band of devoted people spear-headed the movement for liquidating North Indian domination and the oppresive auto-cratic strangle hold of the Centre.

As a result the D.M.K., was able to capture 50 Assembly seats in the next general election in addition to 8 seats in the Union Parliament. However the Congress party utilised all their might to defeat Anna at Kancheepuram.

The 50 D.M.K. members functioned as the opposition under the leadership of Navalar Nedunchezhian known for his oratory and Tamil scholarship. Anna was elected to represent Tamilnadu in the Rajya Sabha. The maiden speech of Anna in Rajya Sabha, giving the background and philosophy behind the demand for a separate Tamil State, made history. This remarkable analysis of Anna took Delhi political circles by storm.

Consequent to Anna's firm stand, the ruling party got agitated and in the bye-elections that came after, the Congress leaders forced the issue by telling the electorate that if D.M.K. won, then it would mean a vote for the forces of division and gave a call to defeat the D.M.K. The electorate took this challenge and defeated the Congress in the two bye-elections at Tiruvannamalai and Tiru-chengode. This verdict of the electorate streng-thened the D.M.K. stand for a separate State. Successive victories and the growth of the D.M.K. party in all the nooks and corners of the State, made the ruling party stand on its toes, afraid of its own existence. Naturally the ruling party feared that if things were allowed to shape as they were, their very existence might be at stake. Their main anxiety was not even for the strength of a United India but only for their continuance in power.

Hence on the advice of the then Tamil Nadu Government, the Union Government passed an act making any demand for separation as an offence. The act also said that any one or any party deman-ding separation will be disqualified from standing in the elections to Assembly and Parliament.

The D.M.K. which could easily understand the background for these steps, decided to drop their demand for separation but decided to fight

with the Centre for eradicating the causes that justified such a demand.

This far-reaching decision of D.M.K. was prompted also by one more important reason. It was the time when China was in illegal occupation of our borders and Pakistan was threatening to take arms. Indian unity and strength were paramount at that hour *and the D.M.K. was second to none in their love of the country and hence the D.M.K. gave up its demand for a separate State.*

The resolution giving up this demand highlighted the fact that though the demand had been given up, the causes that led to the demand were still there. The resolution also called on the Union Government to appreciate the situation and to remedy the defects which gave rise to the demand. Anna emphasised this aspect clearly.

The D.M.K. brought out beyond question, that social justice should not be sacrificed at the altar of caste prejudices and also indicated that such a just demand should not be classified as a communal issue.

As a result of the D.M.K's clear cut policies, people who accused us, got an opportunity to think clearly and this led to a reformation among the

critics themselves. Respected Rajaji who at one time led our critics had now become our great friend and valuable ally. Such great changes took place in the progressive growth of our party. So also the party rose to the occasion and successfully met the challenges. The very giving up of the secession demand showed clearly that this party never stood in the way of India's unity and strength.

One more criticism about the partymen was that they were ' atheists. ' Our reply to this was that we believe in "one Community and one God" principle. God resides in the smiles of the poor and the downtrodden. This is our of firm belief. Once this stand of the D.M.K. is understood our critics lost force in their arguments.

Social Welfare and Constructive Work, Economic Equality, Democratic Philosophy, are some of the firm doctrines of the D.M.K. and coupled with their heroic struggle to save the Tamil language—these tenets of D.M.K. created history.

Barathidasan the immortal bard of Tamil Nadu had sung about the valour of the Tamils and their passion for the Tamil language. They gave only a second place even to their very lives when Tamil's honour came into question". " Anyone who abused the mother tongue would be dealt with suitably

even though our mothers stopped us" so spoke the poet. Such is the great regard and esteem the Tamilians had for their lanugage.

When such was the case, attempts were made not only to refuse the rightful place to Tamil but also a series of steps were launched to destroy it.

The stand of D.M.K. on the language issue had always been very clear and straight forward. English would continue as the link language for World contacts and also for inter-State correspondence and the languages of the States would be the languages of the 14 States, till all the 14 languages became the official languages of India. As opposed to this view, Hindi was imposed on us. Rajaji who is now strongly opposing the imposition of Hindi was the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu in 1937 when Hindi was made compulsory. There was a great opposition to this move of Rajaji and several Tamil scholars, students and Dravida movement people raised a storm of protest and courted imprisonment.

The battle against Hindi that began in 1937 has not ended yet. When we oppose Hindi it is not because of any hatred of any particular language, nor is it due entirely to our overwhelming love of our own mother tongue. Our opposition is based on deeper and more fundamental principles. If

Hindi, the mother tongue of certain States became the National language, it will naturally result in the supermacy of those States over the others. Such a situation would make non-Hindi States in general and especially Tamil Nadu in particular to take a subordinate place in the national polity. This is the real strong base on which we have been opposing Hindi imposition.

When I was just crossing my thirteenth year I was drawn into the anti-Hindi struggle and in 1937 I found myself leading a devoted band of youngsters in this cause. This was my first entry into politics. Millions of youngsters had the same urge like me in those days.

Having dropped the demand for a separate State, the D.M.K. had to concentrate after 1962 on the anti-Hindi front. Due to natural causes the D.M.K. became the great bulwark to stem the onrush of the Hindi floods. Rajaji also stood now in the forefront against Hindi domination. Sensing the unmistakable feelings of the Tamilians, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru gave a clear assurance as Prime Minister, that English would continue as India's official language and that Hindi will not be imposed against the wishes of the people. In spite of this categorical assurance, contradictory steps were taken. The people of Tamil Nadu rose as one man

in 1965 against such moves. The impact was like a valcanic eruption. In this sacred battle to safe-guard their mother tongue, hundreds of people suffered under the repressive measures launched by the then Congress Government. Several students were tortured. Some lost their lives. Eight youngsters offered the supreme sacrifice, by self-immolation. " Even when we die, Tamil must be on our lips and even our ashes should have the aroma of the sweet Tamil ". This was their Swan Song, before they gave up their lives.

Over 30 days this momentous struggle continued. Anna who was very particular that violence should be eschewed at all costs, was giving statement after statement appealing to the agitators to give up violence.

The then Government accused me of instigating this agitation and took me in a police lorry four hundred miles away from Madras to Palayamkottai and kept me in solitary confinement for 62 days and pleased themselves.

1967 followed 1965. The fourth general election took place in 1967. In Tamil Nadu all parties opposed to Congress joined hands to forge a combined United Front to fight the elections. Many political pandits posed a doubt about the D.M.K. party con-

sisting of poor people, defeating the Congress which counted several money bags among its supporters. As a reply to this question the then All India Congress president said that they could get victory even lying down in *their beds*. But even in his own constituency this great leader was defeated by a mere student belonging to the D.M.K. People gave defeat not only to him but to many of his partymen to such an extent, that the ruling Congress became the opposition with only 50 seats. The D.M.K. captured 138 seats out of 234 and obtained a solid independent majority. Aringar Anna became the leader of the Legislature D.M.K. party and took up the reins of government in his hands. 46 seats went to Swatantra, Muslim Leage, Communists, and Tamil Arasu Kazhagam, the poll allies of the D.M.K.

To fight against the Congress bosses who could command crores of rupees, the D.M.K. had to go about staging dramas, meetings and to take hundi collections to raise funds for elections. As the treasurer of the party, I had to bear the brunt of the burden of finance and I took the challenge and collected 1.1 Million Rupees for the election fund.

On coming to power the D.M.K. began translating its policies into action. The very first budget presented by Anna centred round various wel-

fare measures to help and aid the poor and middle class people. In the farm front, the government took up serious steps and ushered in the *green revolution*.

Even while the D.M.K. was in opposition, it was pressing the then Congress Government to rename Madras State as Tamil Nadu. But our pleadings had no effect. As soon as the D.M.K. came to power the State got its rightful name as Tamil Nadu. For effecting this change, one patriot Sankaralinga Nadar fasted for 70 days and gave up his life, during the previous regime. Thus the change of name is a historic one. This renaming of the State as Tamilnadu has been the culmination of the wishes of people of Tamilnadu for a long time and it is an event of the dream of a race, coming true. This will remain green in the memory of the Tamilians for ever. When Chera, Chola, and Pandyas ruled with glory, this name of Tamil Nadu was there. After centuries, when even historians were liable to forget this fact, getting back the lost name is therefore of great historic significance. It is an outstanding event.

The D.M.K. which was agitating against Hindi imposition when it was in the opposition, did not rest on their laurels when it came to power. Within

the State it immediately took up all measures that a State Government could take.

It settled the language policy in schools. English and Tamil alone will be taught in our schools. There is no place for Hindi. But the Hindi teachers numbering about 2,000 who were affected by this policy were given alternate jobs. The Government also decided that Hindi command words in N.C.C. should be replaced by English ones. Critics complained that these acts of the D.M.K. Government were due to their love for a foreign tongue as opposed to an Indian tongue. But there is an effective answer to this charge. English is no more the language of the Britisher only. It has now grown as a universal link language of the world. It will be too much for an young student to learn Tamil, the mother tongue, and then Hindi for national use, and then English for international contacts. That is why our Government decided that Tamil and English are more than enough for students in our schools.

After a glorious public life of over forty years and nurturing the D.M.K. to its present gigantic form for over 20 years, Anna who became the Chief Minister after the most enviable record as a scholar, politician and administrator, left us all after 2 years of his stewardship as Chief Minister. He was

only 59 when he passed away. Anna's passing away was an event that shocked the entire mass of people, just as the demise of Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru shook the Nation. Over 30 lakhs of people joined the funeral procession and this was a clear evidence to the charismatic qualities of this great leader.

After Anna, I had to take up the presidentship of the party as well as the office of Chief Minister. Even in my first address in the Assembly I stated that "as one coming from the most backward community I will definitely stake even my very life for the uplift and improvement of the backward and the downtrodden." I added, "that I will also certainly look after the interests of the forward communities as well."

This was the first challenge I took upon myself and accordingly a new department to look after the welfare of the backward classes was created, under the charge of a separate Minister. I also ordered the formation of the Backward Classes Commission to find out ways and plans to improve the lot of the poor and the down-trodden. We decided to extend free education upto the P.U.C. in colleges for all students.

Administrative reforms claimed my attention next. When I found that people had to go after

officials to represent their grievances and the consequent delays, we framed a new scheme by which officials will go to the people to know their grievances and adopt remedial measures on the spot. By this scheme known as " MANU NIDHI SCHEME " (named after a Chola King famed for his sense of Justice), officials were to go periodically to villages and meet people and redress their grievances. Now every month officials contact over 1500 villages personally. This scheme has been universally welcomed.

In the twenty years of Congress rule only a third of the villages were given electricity facilities. We have now taken up a scheme by which before 1972 there will not be a single village without electricity. Similarly in the case of drinking water supply to villages we have decided to give protected drinking water facilities to all villages in need of them in 2 years. We have specially formed a Water Board for this purpose and we are to spend over 130 millions of rupees on this account.

We have also decided that no family can hold more than 15 standard acres. All the uncultivated government lands are being put to use after the D.M.K. came to power. Within 3 years of our assuming office, we have distributed 'pattas' for over 2 lakhs of acres of land to over one lakh

of landless agriculturists. In addition 100 thousands of persons have been given house sites also. We are very keen on this measure and vigorous steps are being taken to implement these plans throughout Tamil Nadu.

We have devised new schemes to tap ground water resources for agricultural purposes, so that our peasants need not depend only on rain water and river water sources. Due to the "green revolution" we have attained self-sufficiency in food production. Hence as a result we have abolished food controls which were there from the days of the Congress.

We have specially allotted 10 million rupees this year alone, to increase the facilities for job oppor--tunities in rural areas. The government and the local bodies will co-operate to make these schemes a success.

We have adopted a seven year masterplan for slum improvement in the capital city of Madras. Ten million rupees will be spent this year itself on this important scheme.

The river 'Cooum' that runs through our metro-polis had been so neglected all these years that it is now a potential source of disease and dirt. We have taken up Cooum Improvement Scheme very seriously and before long it is our hope to beautify

this river and its environs; so that it will be a great centre of attraction for boating and internal travel.

Prices of articles which were scaring high have now been brought under control. In labour disputes, we always try to find out a solution by discussion and compromise procedures. We have established friendly relations with neighbouring States.

After I assumed office as Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu during my first visit to Delhi, pressmen asked me about our policy regarding Centre-State relations. I replied that " we will extend our hand of friendship to the Centre and will also fight for our rights. "

After I assumed charge as President of the D.M.K., along with Thiru Nedunchezhian as General Secretary and Thiru M. G. Ramachandran as Treasurer we had the first District Conference at Trichy wherein the then Punjab Chief Minister Gurnam Singh also participated on my invitation. In my address at this conference I gave five tenets explaining fully the policy of the D.M.K.

They were:-

1. We will strive hard in the path laid down by Anna.
2. We will establish a society free from exploitation.

3. We will always oppose Hindi imposition.
4. We will conquer poverty eschewing violence.
5. We will work for autonomy at the State level and federation at the Centre.

The secret behind the remarkable growth of our party even after the demise of Anna, is the tradition of intense affection, left by him and this acts as a family tie and cementing force amongst us. This strong tie of family love among party members is something peculiar to this party alone.

Only because of this tradition the D.M.K. was able to capture power in the neighbouring union territory of Pondicherry also, even after Anna has left us.

In the municipal elections also we were able to capture over 50 municipalities where D.M.K. Chairmen have been elected out of 84.

Even in the Capital City of Madras, the Mayor is from our party only. In almost all the bye-elections we have recorded thumping victories.

The Ministers of our Cabinet are easily accessible for the poor and there is no distance at all between them and the masses.

To consolidate our achievements and to achieve more and more victories in future, Anna's noble heart is always our sure guide.

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

TAMIL NADU

M. Karunanidhi, Chief Minister

V. R. Nedunchezhian, Minister for Education

K. A. Mathialagan, Minister for Finance

Mrs. Sathiavani Muthu, Minister for Agriculture

N. V. Natarajan, Minister for Backward Classes

P. U. Shanmugam, Minister for Food

S. Madhavan, Minister for Industries

S. J. Sadiq Pasha, Minister for Public Works

M. Muthuswamy, Minister for Local Administration

Si. Pa. Adithanar, Minister for Co-operation

K. V. Subbiah, Minister for Religious Endowments

O. P. Raman, Minister for Electricity

K. Vezhavendan, Minister for Labour

Thiru M. KARUNANIDHI
Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, India